

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-11

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USNMR SHAPE

USLO SACLANT

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 512

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PBOR NO UR SV

SUBJECT: SOVIET-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS

REF: OSLO 4481

1. IN SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS VIBE, THE AMBASSADOR AND THE DCM OBTAINED
FURTHER DETAILS ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE VISIT OF PRIME
MINISTER BRATTELI TO THE USSR, MARCH 18-24. IN A SPEECH TO
TRADE UNIONISTS ON FEBRUARY 1 ON "OIL IN NORWEGIAN FOREIGN
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POLICY" (DETAILS BY SEPTTEL), FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND

ALSO STAKED OUT THE NORWEGIAN POSITION IN ANTICIPATION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS OVER DIVISION AND CONTROL OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OFF NORTH NORWAY.

2. THERE WERE THE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS LINKED TO ACCELERATED PREPARATIONS FOR THE BRATTELI VISIT:

A. CONTINENTAL SHELF. AS ANTICIPATED (REFTEL), THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET LEGAL ADVISER KHLESTOV, AS HEAD OF THE SOVIET MBFR DELEGATION, WILL PRECLUDE ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON DIVIDING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OFF NORTH NORWAY PRIOR TO BRATTELI'S VISIT. VIBE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR ON FEBRUARY 2 THAT, WHEN SOVIET AMBASSADOR ROMANOVSKY RETURNED FROM LEAVE (JANUARY 12) HE BROUGHT A PROPOSAL THAT TALKS BE HELD NEXT MAY, ASSUMING KHLESTOV IS AVAILABLE. NORWAY AGREES THAT, SINCE THE 1970 TALKS WERE HELD IN OSLO, THEY SHOULD BE HELD THIS TIME IN MOSCOW.

B. IN HIS FEBRUARY 1 SPEECH TO TRADE UNIONISTS, FRYDENLUND REMARKED ON NORWEGIAN INTEREST IN REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON DIVIDING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN THE BARENTS SEA. HE SAID THAT NORWAY WILL BASE ITSELF IN THE UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL LAW PRINCIPLE OF THE MEDIAN LINE (EQUIDISTANCE). HE REFERRED TO THE RICH OIL RESOURCES OFF SVALBARD, NOTED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OIL AND DETENTE POLICY IN NORTH NORWAY AND EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT BOTH SUPER POWERS WOULD SEE THAT IT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST TO HAVE NORWEGIAN "MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL" OVER THIS NORTHERN CONTINENTAL SHELF AREA.

C. SVALBARD. VIBE TOLD DCM AT JANUARY 30 LUNCHEON THAT THE MEETING OF LEGAL EXPERTS (PROPOSED BY NORWAY) TO DISCUSS VARIOUS NORWEGIAN ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES ON SVALBARD TO WHICH THE SOVIETS OBJECT (REFTEL) WILL FINALLY CONVENE ON FEBRUARY 11 IN OSLO UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE NEWLY PROMOTED DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR LEGAL AFFAIRS (FORMER MOSCOW HAND) KJELL ELIASSEN. IN ADDITION TO THE SUBJECTS HE HAD MENTIONED EARLIER IN DISCUSSING THESE TALKS, VIBE ALSO MENTIONED IN PASSING TO THE DCM THAT THE TALKS WOULD COVER SOME "QUESTIONS INVOLVING LABOR CONDITIONS" (THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN FURTHER DETAILS).

D. SVALBARD AIRPORT. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PRESSING TO COMPLETE
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THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND WERE INCLINED TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT DURING THE BRATTELI VISIT. IN ORDER TO DOWNPLAY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT, HOWEVER, NORWEGIANS WISH TO FINALIZE THE DETAILS BEFORE THE VISIT; IT WAS CORRESPONDINGLY DECIDED THAT SOVIET DELEGATION WILL COME TO OSLO ON FEBRUARY 15. NORWAY RESISTED SENDING A DELEGATION TO MOSCOW, AS BEING INAPPROPRIATE FOR A SOVEREIGN POWER ACCORDING PRIVILEGES TO THE SOVIETS.

E. ARCTIC QUESTIONS. NORWAY HAS EVIDENTLY SUCCEEDED IN BROADENING DISCUSSION OF "COOPERATION" TO ENCOMPASS THE ARCTIC GENERALLY, NOT FOCUSING ON SVALBARD (REFTEL). VIBE SAID THE DIRECTOR OF THE NORWEGIAN POLAR INSTITUTE WILL MEET WITH HIS OPPOSITE NUMBER (HE DID NOT KNOW WHO ON THE SOVIET SIDE) AT THE END OF FEBRUARY TO DISCUSS SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN THE ARCTIC.

F. OTHER ISSUES. IN DISCUSSION WITH DCM, VIBE SAID THAT THE OTHER AGREEMENTS TO BE SIGNED ARE ESSENTIALLY THOSE HE HAD CITED IN EARLIER CONVERSATION (REFTEL). ON THE QUESTION OF SPECIFIC LANGUAGE ON CONSULTATIONS IN A COMMUNIQUE OR SEPARATE DOCUMENT, VIBE SAID THAT HE EXPECTED THE NORWEGIAN SIDE WOULD STALL, CITING THE PROVISIONS FOR BROAD CONSULTATIONS IN VARIOUS FIELDS UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE EUROPEAN SECURITY TALKS.

3. COMMENT: PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF QUESTION DURING THE P.M.'S VISIT MAY FACILITATE WHAT PROMISES OTHERWISE TO BE RATHER DIFFICULT TALKS IN MAY. NORWAY APPEARS DETERMINED TO ASSERT ITS SOVEREIGNTY OVER EXPLOITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OFF SVALBARD (ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARGUE SVALBARD IS AN EXTENSION OF NORWEGIAN SHELF AND THOSE WHO BASE THEMSELVES ON THE FAILURE OF THE 1920 TREATY TO GRANT MINERAL EXPLOITATION RIGHTS SPECIFICALLY ON THE SHELF TO THE SIGNATORY POWERS). THERE MAY BE AN ELEMENT OF WISHFUL THINKING IN FRYDENLUND'S VIEW, PREVIOUSLY VOICED ALSO BY VIBE, THAT IT IS IN THE GREAT POWERS INTEREST TO GIVE NORWAY SOVEREIGNTY IN THIS SENSITIVE AREA. WHEN DCM ASKED SOVIET AMBASSADOR ROMANOVSKY AT JANUARY 31 DINNER WHETHER SOVIETS AGREED WITH THE NORWEGIAN POSITION, THE ANSWER WAS UNEQUIVOCALLY "NO". ROMANOVSKY SAID IT MAKES AS MUCH SENSE TO ARGUE SVALBARD HAS NO CONTINENTAL SHELF OF ITS OWN, AS TO ARGUE THAT ENGLAND IS AN EXTENSION OF THE FRENCH CONTINENTAL SHELF. HE APPEARED TO FAVOR THE RIGHT OF SIGNATORIES OF THE 1920 TREATY TO EXPLOIT RESOURCES ON SVALBARD'S CONTINENTAL SHELF.

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SHELF BEYOND THE TERRITORIAL WATER LINE.

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FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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4. SOVIETS ARE DOUBTLESS TORN BY SOME OF SAME CONSIDERATIONS WHICH HAVE MADE INTERPRETATION OF 1920 TREATY DIFFICULT FOR OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THEY TRIED TO POSTPONE DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION UNTIL AFTER LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE, AND WILL BE CONCERNED OVER IMPLICATIONS OF ANY DECISION FOR THEIR LARGER MARITIME INTERESTS. IT IS EVEN CONCEIVABLE, HOWEVER, THAT CONCERN OVER STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF HEAVY FOREIGN PARTICULARLY U.S., INVOLVEMENT IN OIL DRILLING OFF SVALBARD COULD INFLUENCE ULTIMATE SOVIET LOS POSITION. FOR SOVIETS QUESTION MUST BE ONE OF BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE: WHETHER TO INSIST UPON THEIR OWN RIGHT TO DRILL ON CONTINENTAL SHELF OFF SVALBARD, WITH HOPE OF OBTAINING STRATEGIC CONFIDENTIAL

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"BLOCKS FROM THE NORWEGIANS; OR TO CONCEDE THE NORWEGIANS SOVEREIGNTY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR BLOCKING ANY DEVELOPMENTS INIMICAL TO SOVIET INTERESTS, BASED ON SOME PRIOR UNDERSTANDING OF TO GROUND RULES WORKED OUT BETWEEN MOSCOW AND OSLO.

5. MOSCOW WILL PROBABLY HOPE IN COURSE OF BRATTELI VISIT TO EXPLORE VARIOUS WAYS THAT IT COULD PROTECT ITS INTERESTS, WITHOUT COMMITTING ITSELF TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION AT THE MAY TALKS.

IT WILL WISH TO KNOW, SHOULD IT ACCEPT NORWEGIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OFF SVALBARD, WHAT CONTROL MEASURES THE NORWEGIANS WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENFORCE OVER DRILLING BY FOREIGN COMPANIES. THE NORWEGIANS, IN TURN, WOULD HAVE AN INTEREST IN PROPOSING CERTAIN CONTROL MEASURES IN ORDER TO OBTAIN SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE 1920 TREATY. ON THE QUESTION OF THE ACTUAL DIVISION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN THE BARENTS SEA, NORWAY IS MAINTAINING THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUIDISTANCE. VIBE ALLUDED, HOWEVER, TO A PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD SOMEWHERE IN THE BUREAUCRACY WHICH WOULD FINESSE CONFLICT OVER THE EXACT DIVISION LINE BY PROVIDING FOR A MEDIAN STRIP IN WHICH SOVIETS AND NORWEGIANS BOTH HAD JURISDICTION TO OPERATE--AND SOME SUCH COMPROMISE APPROACH SEEMS LIKELY TO SURFACE WHEN NEGOTIATIONS GET UNDERWAY.

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